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the labor theory of value and applied it in a peculiar way to the explanation of land rent. He recognized interest as an important share of social income, and accounted for it in part as remuneration for risk and in part as compensation for the inconvenience of putting one's wealth out of one's own control. On the subject of taxation he entertained views far in advance of his day and still worthy of consideration. But more important than the method employed by the author or the theories that he advanced is the large amount of information in regard to conditions in England and Ireland in the seventeenth century contained in "Petty's Economic Writings." No student of the history of the period can afford to neglect these sources of contemporary evidence, and every such student must feel grateful to Professor Hull for the admirable manner in which he has performed his editorial task.

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HENRY R. SEAGER.

*First Principles in Politics.* By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY. 8vo. Pp. 322. Price, \$2.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899.

Mr. Lilly has long been known as a writer of clear English, and a thinker of considerable power. A work, therefore, from his pen, and bearing the title *First Principles in Politics*, is assured a welcome from all interested in political speculation. The inquiry to which Mr. Lilly addresses himself is not so much a search for the true nature of political authority and its justification, as a statement of the fundamental principles of conduct which, from the standpoint of transcendental ethics, should govern statesmen in their administration of public affairs. The absence of controlling ethical motives, Mr. Lilly believes to be characteristic of the age. "Oh for a statesman," he quotes from Coleridge, "Oh for a statesman—a single one—who understands the living might in a principle." Whether this indictment in all its comprehensiveness, be a true one or not, there is certainly a sufficient need for such a work as Mr. Lilly has given us.

The starting point of the argument is that the ethical criterion of an act is its congruity or incongruity with man's moral nature. Natural rights, properly so-called, are such as are necessary to the individual for the development of his ethically best self. The fact that man is able to secure his best development only in a political society both explains and justifies the existence of the state, and the activities of the state should be determined by this fact. "The end of the state, both for itself and its subjects, is what Aristotle calls *εὖ ζῆν*: noble or worthy life; a complete and self-sufficient existence; the development of its own personality, and of the personalities of its subjects, under the law of Right." This is the substance of the first four chapters.

Under the title "The Mechanism of the State," Mr. Lilly considers the old question of the best form of government, and comes to the obvious conclusion that that form of political organization is best which, under existing objective conditions, is best calculated to secure the ends for which political power should exist. This, however, leads him to a scathing, but fully justified, criticism of that doctrine which declares that government by simple numerical majorities is both just and representative. "A representative government," says our author, "as its name implies, should represent all the elements of national life, all the living forces of society, in due proportion." Equal voting is not simply inexpedient; it is *unjust*. "It is unjust to the classes, for it infringes their right as persons to count in the community for what they are really worth, it is 'tyrannously oppressive of the better sort.' It is unjust to the masses, for it infringes their right to the guidance of men of light and learning, and subjects them to a base oligarchy of vile political adventurers. It is unjust to the state which it derationalizes, making it—to borrow certain pregnant words of Green—'not the passionless expression of general right, but the engine of individual caprice, under alternate fits of appetite and fear.' Professor Sybel is absolutely well warranted when he tells us . . . that the Rousseauian theory, which is, so to speak, incarnate in false democracy, 'raises to the throne, not the reason which is common to all men, but the aggregate of universal passions.'" Corruption is a necessary result from false democracy. To a demonstration of this fact the sixth chapter is devoted.

In a final chapter, entitled "The Sanctions of the State," Mr. Lilly considers especially the rational grounds upon which crime should be punished. After a contemptuous reference to the views of the new school of criminal anthropologists, and a reaffirmation of man's moral freedom and responsibility, he declares the infliction of legal penalties justified, not primarily by considerations of social utility, but as legitimate retribution upon the offenders. "The first function of punishment is to punish, to vindicate the majesty of outraged justice, to dissolve that *vinculum juris* to which crime gives rise, by meting out to the transgressor his due. Its second function is to deter the offender from repeating his offense and others from imitating it." Mr. Lilly has good company in this—Fitzjames Stephen and W. C. Bradley, for instance—but we believe the position an indefensible one and absolutely inconsistent with the general ethical premises which transcendentalists accept. The writings of T. H. Green have sufficiently shown this.

Summing up, then, we may say that while not presenting anything that is distinctively new, Mr. Lilly has yet performed a valuable ser-

vice in rendering explicit those criticisms of our political life implied in the system of ethics which he upholds and which we believe to be the essentially true one.

The book contains what is most acceptable in any speculative work, a careful summary, the consecutive paragraphs of which are so arranged that the language as well as the thought is continuous.

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*The United Kingdom: A Political History.* By GOLDWIN SMITH.

Two volumes. Pp. x, 650, 482. Price, \$4.00. New York: Macmillan Co., 1899.

Notwithstanding the somewhat unfamiliar title of Mr. Goldwin Smith's latest work, "The United Kingdom" is almost exclusively a history of England; and, as if to anticipate the rather querulous demand of critics as to the need of another history of England, the author offers in the preface this simple word of explanation: "The limited aim of these pages is to give the ordinary reader, so far as was in the author's power, a clear, connected and succinct view of the political history of the United Kingdom as it appears in the light of recent research and discussion." The special student who opens the volumes in search of new historical data, fresh ore from old mines, will find little to tempt him, for neither foot-notes nor marginal references point to the sources of the author's information. While secondary authorities have been freely used, the result is not a piece of mechanical book-making, but a brilliant commentary on the course of English history as it appears to a life-long student of English politics.

Although the undisguised purpose of Mr. Goldwin Smith to tell only the political story of England frees his work from comparison with Green's "Short History of the English People," whose scope is so largely social, the query arises whether the political life of the English nation can be understood without insight into those social changes, of which, as Mr. Green maintained, political history is so largely the outcome. But while it is true that Mr. Goldwin Smith has limited his view to the political side of the nation, he has not allowed himself to write a mere drum and trumpet history, nor a history of court intrigue. His work is both dignified and serious, and he has not left the social and intellectual aspects of English life wholly untouched. Even though the outburst of national spirit in the Elizabethan literature receives only passing notice and the influence of Methodism on national life is dismissed with a single word of comment, it is only fair to add that those light, hasty touches are singu-